

THE WHALLEY ABBEY BURSARS' ACCOUNT FOR 1520

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THE details of income and expenditure in the account of the Whalley Abbey bursars for 1520 provide an interesting picture of the economy of one of the major Lancashire monasteries in the days of its last abbot, John Paslew. The original is at the Lancashire Record Office among the Towneley papers (DDTo/B21), which were kindly deposited a few years ago by the late Lord O'Hagan. It is written on a single skin of parchment, approximately three feet long by two feet three inches wide. The account may profitably be considered in relation to the two bursars' accounts for 1478 and 1521 printed by T. D. Whitaker in his *History of Whalley*⁽¹⁾, and in the light of the general conclusions about the economy of the English monasteries at this period reached by Dom David Knowles in the final volume of his *Religious Orders in England*.⁽²⁾

Generalisations about the Whalley finances from these accounts must be made with considerable caution. There is nothing like a continuous run over a period of years, though it is useful to have three sets and, for income, comparisons can also be made with the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535⁽³⁾ and with the survey made shortly after the dissolution and printed in the *Whalley Abbey Coucher Book*.⁽⁴⁾ The surviving accounts, moreover, do not tell the whole story, if only because the Cistercian system of centralised finance precludes a breaking-down of expenditure by departments, such as we might find in the case of a Benedictine house. Thus it is impossible to tell how much of the food purchased in 1520 was consumed in the refectory, guest house, infirmary and abbot's house respectively. The appearance of items like the surplus of the offices of cellarer

⁽¹⁾ T. D. Whitaker, *History of the Original Parish of Whalley* (4th ed. revised by Nichols and Lyons 1872), Vol. 1, pp. 116 *seq.* The 1521 account is taken from a copy of the original in the British Museum, Harleian MSS 2064, where it is still to be found. Whitaker states that the 1478 account was transcribed "from an original roll written upon a very large sheet of parchment, with the title and initials beautifully tricked by a pen", but does not mention where he saw it.

⁽²⁾ Dom David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Vol. 3, *The Tudor Age*, pp. 241 *seq.*

⁽³⁾ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. 5, pp. 227-30.

⁽⁴⁾ *Whalley Abbey Coucher Book*, pp. 1183 *seq.*, Chetham Soc. O.S., Vols. 10, 11, 16 and 20, and hereafter referred to as *Coucher Book*.

and sub-cellarer suggests additional expenditure, the details of which are not included in the accounts at all. Nor is any clear distinction made between capital and current expenditure: purchases of animals for the grange and for stock are included, but we have no valuation of the stock itself.

More difficult still is to decide how far the accounts can be taken at their face value and assumed to give a true picture of the actual working of the abbey's finances. Any set of accounts poses this problem, today as in the Middle Ages. The document might be intended for external consumption, for visitors or auditors; it might conceal more than it reveals. Many entries are genuine enough and fluctuate from year to year as one would reasonably expect. Some are apparently conventional allowances: why should the amount spent on parchment, paper, bitumen, lime, resin and canvas be the same in 1521 as 1520? One is irresistibly reminded of annual estimates. Other entries may not be what they seem: the payments to the abbot and convent for habits suggest regular allowances based on the number of monks rather than the actual purchase of clothes and the £5 spent on "services for the abbot" is no doubt similar. Perhaps the most questionable item of all is the large sum paid to the provisor of the convent. Assuming him to be a purveyor or catering officer, lay or monastic, this amount should largely represent purchases of food or drink. But what sort of food, when all the normal items of consumption appear to be accounted for elsewhere? It is with such reservations in mind that the accounts may be used as a basis for considering the economy at Whalley in the early sixteenth century.

The most striking feature of the abbey's income in 1520 is the high proportion which came from the four appropriated churches of Whalley, Blackburn, Eccles and Rochdale: £581 12s. 3½d. out of a total income of £895 14s. 6d., approximately 65%, contrasting sharply with the figure of about one-quarter of the gross total income of all houses from spiritual sources, suggested by Knowles. Furness, with about one-fifth of its income coming from spiritual sources in 1535, conforms more closely to the national average, but other Lancashire houses—Burscough and Up Holland for example—were, like Whalley, heavily dependent on appropriated churches. Appearances suggest that this could be an elastic source of income: Whalley's receipts from churches in 1478 were £356 17s. 5½d., indicating an increase of about 60% in the next forty years, which should have more than kept pace with inflation. This elasticity was probably due to the fact that the greater part of spiritual income took the form of tithes, often paid in kind and

responsive to changing prices. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives a much lower income from this source: £228 18s. 8d. after deducting payments to vicars. Henry VIII's commissioners appear in many cases to have undervalued the income of northern houses,⁽⁵⁾ however, and the figures in the survey taken after the dissolution accord fairly well with the accounts for 1520 and 1521: £592 15s. 8d. gross, £512 8s. 4d. net.⁽⁶⁾ The bursars' accounts themselves give no indication of payments to vicars, which may have been deducted before entry.

The income from temporal sources appears to have been less elastic: £240 12s. 9½d. in 1478, £281 1s. 2½d. in 1520. Most of it came from rents which were fixed for considerable periods of time; not only were the amounts identical in 1520 and 1521, but, in the majority of cases, were the same in 1478. In other words, most of the monks' property was let on long leases and this included such items as mills, fisheries, turbaries and tanneries. Increases came mainly from new gifts of land, new inclosures or improvements. A substantial part of the income was derived from a few major properties: from the Stanlaw endowment at Stanney, Aston and Acton, from Cronton in the Widnes fee, from the properties in Eccles and Rochdale parishes and from the manor of Billington. As Knowles suggests, the days of high farming were over: entries in the account show that the monks still maintained a grange, but, in the main, they were rent collectors rather than estate managers.

About two-thirds of the abbey's substantial income was spent on food and drink in 1520. If the costs of carriage are included, the total expenditure on corn, meat, fish, wine, butter, cheese and spices was nearly £570, and if the payment to the provisor can also be taken to represent expenditure on food, the total is increased to about £640. The figure for 1521 was less by nearly £100, largely owing to smaller purchases of corn, which underlines the difficulty of trying to discover what average yearly expenditure might have been. Taking the two years together, food consumption still appears to account for a startlingly high proportion of total expenditure. How many people consumed all these provisions? We have no certain means of knowing, but there can hardly have been more than 30 monks and there were probably nearer 20. To them we must add a much larger number of servants, perhaps 40 or 50 for the convent and 20 for the abbot's household. If the abbey was fulfilling its obligations, there would also be 24 old men maintained in the house, and perhaps a number of aged monks. We might not be far wrong in guessing at a community of about

⁽⁵⁾ Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁽⁶⁾ *Coucher Book*, pp. 1245-47.

120 persons. There would also be a considerable number of guests to cater for, both in the abbot's house and in the hostelry, and it is charitable to suppose that the more unmonastic elements in the diet can be accounted for in this way. Considerable purchases of wine and spices and payments to minstrels and bearwards help to conjure up the picture of a comfortable and well-provided household offering hospitality on a scale comparable with that of a well-to-do layman's establishment. This heavy expenditure on the creature comforts cannot be attributed entirely to Paslew's influence: in 1478 nearly £360 was spent on food out of an income of £600, which is proportionally not dissimilar from 1520.

To the amount spent on food, we need to add approximately £60 for clothing and other materials and a few pounds for household necessities to arrive at the total cost of providing the community with its everyday needs. On the basis of his statement that one-third or more of the income of a typical monastery went to the clothing and feeding of the monks, the household and guests, Knowles is prepared to conclude that ". . . at the epoch of the Dissolution and for an undefined and long period previously, the monks and canons of England, with a few notable exceptions, had been living on a scale of personal comfort and corporate magnificence, and with a variety of receipts and expenses of all kinds, which were neither necessary for, nor consistent with, the fashion of life indicated by their rule and early institutions".⁽⁷⁾ Allowing for the limitations and possible incompleteness of the bursars' accounts, we may reasonably suppose that, in the early 1520s at least, Whalley was not one of the exceptions.

The remaining expenditure, in round figures, included £40 in pensions or gifts to noblemen and landowners, customary ecclesiastical fees, casual payments to servants, and legal fees; £30 on maintenance, repairs, farm stock and farming operations, and £33 on travelling expenses, making a total of just over £100 for general administration. About £20 went on building materials and in both 1520 and 1521 over £20 was spent on the church fabric, possibly on completing the new lady chapel.

The travelling expenses certainly suggest that Paslew was away from the abbey more and went further afield than his predecessor in 1478, who, apart from one journey to Stanlaw, went only to Cold Coats, Wiswell and Blackburn. The cost of the abbot's journey to London in 1520 also appears to be in keeping with his reputation for magnificence and indicates a considerable retinue. On the other hand, the majority of the

(7) Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

journeys seem to have been well justified by a concern for the abbey's various possessions and commitments as well as for its relations with other Cistercian houses. Nor was there any general increase in travelling at the later period: if the abbot travelled less in 1478, the monks travelled more, for 37 journeys were recorded, costing over £25.

It would be interesting to know how much of the income went to the abbot's own household, but it is not possible to give a complete answer from the accounts. If we take the items which are specifically earmarked, we get a total of £190, including travelling expenses, in 1520, and rather less in 1521. The true figure is likely to be higher and might agree well with Knowles's suggestion of a quarter of the revenues being spent in this way. In this connection, it may be recalled that Paslew built himself a new house between the cloister and the infirmary of which the foundations can still be seen.

Against a picture of a prosperous and well-fed community, we might be tempted to set ludicrously small amounts spent on charity. Taking the entries at their face value, we reach a total of little more than £4 in 1520, and much the same in 1521. But it would be unwise to build on such calculations. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records an annual commitment of nearly £120 for alms. This includes £41 12s. 0d. for the support of 24 aged and infirm poor within the monastery, whose maintenance would be hidden among the general items of expenditure. Much of the remaining regular almsgiving was by distributing corn, bread, fish or cloth, items which are likely also to be included in the general purchases. It may be significant that the only ones of these items which are separately listed in the bursars' accounts are for money or shoes (no doubt also money in practice) given to the poor and clerks each Maundy Thursday. Knowles thinks that the true amounts spent on charity may have been as much as double or treble the amounts recorded by the commissioners in 1535.^(7a) Whatever may have been the case at Whalley, we must certainly not assume that expenditure on charity was insignificant.

Although we may conclude that the picture given by the account is not that of a community living the simple religious life of the Cistercian ideal, there is no apparent evidence for supposing that, from an accounting point of view, the finances of the abbey were unsound. The deficit of £64 15s. 6d. in 1520 is more than balanced by a surplus of £68 11s. 3½d. in 1521 and the abbey clearly had considerable assets which could be realised.

^(7a) *Ibid.*, p. 266.

One item is a portent for the future: a gift of £22 to Cardinal Wolsey, at a time when he had recently been granted legatine powers, including powers of visiting and reforming monastic houses. Between 1524 and 1529 some 29 houses were closed;⁽⁸⁾ Whalley was spared for another eight years and the final tragedy of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

THE BURSARS' ACCOUNT

In this transcription of the 1520 account the figures from the 1521 account are inserted in the further column where they differ from those of 1520. Where there is a blank in the 1521 column, it may be assumed that the amount is the same as in 1520. If there is no corresponding entry in 1521, the words *no entry* are inserted. Where an item occurs in either account with no amount entered, this is indicated by dashes.

COMPOTUS Fratrum Roberti Edilston et Ricardi Hill Bursariorum de Whalley Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicensimo et Anno Domini Johannis Paslewe Abbatis Quartodecimo.

[The account of Brothers Robert Edilston and Richard Hill, Bursars of Whalley, for the year A.D. 1520 and the fourteenth year of Abbot John Paslew.]

RECEPTE ECCLESIARUM
[RECEIPTS FROM CHURCHES]

		1520			1521		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
De ecclesia de Whalley cum capellis	From Whalley church with its chapels	224	15	3	228	11	8
De ecclesia de Blakburn cum capellis	From Blackburn church with its chapels	132	1	0	133	1	0
De ecclesia de Eccles et Deyn	From Eccles and Deane church ⁽⁹⁾	120	0	0½	119	10	4½
De ecclesia de Rachedall cum capellis	From Rochdale church with its chapels	104	16	0	111	0	1
Summa		Total 581 12 3½			592 3 1½		

RECEPTE FIRMARUM
[RECEIPTS FROM RENTS]

		1520			1521		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
De Cestria	From Chester	1	10	8			
De Staney	From Stanney	20	0	0			
De Willaton	From Willington	2	13	4			
De Aston	From Aston	8	15	4			
De Yttley incluso in parco de Dutton	From Itley ⁽¹⁰⁾ enclosed in the park of Dutton	0	1	0			
De Acton	From Acton	14	8	2			
De molendino ibidem	From the mill there	1	6	8			

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-64.

⁽⁹⁾ Deane was included in the parish of Eccles until 1541, when it was made a separate parish after the dissolution of Whalley Abbey.

⁽¹⁰⁾ "Peter Dutton holdeth a parcell of ground inclosed within his own park called Itley and payeth yearly £0 1s. 0d." *Coucher Book*, p. 1250.

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
De decimis ibidem	From tithes there	0	10	0			
De turbaria ibidem	From the turbarry there	1	0	0			
De piscaria ibidem	From the fishery there ⁽¹¹⁾	1	10	0			
De Croenton	From Cronton ⁽¹²⁾	18	4	0			
De molendino ibidem	From the mill there	0	18	0			
De Denton	From Denton ⁽¹³⁾	0	1	0			
De Garstan	From Garston	2	13	4			
De Akebergh	From Aigburth ⁽¹⁴⁾	1	6	8			
De Waryngton	From Warrington	0	8	0			
De Wygan	From Wigan	0	3	4			
De Alt	From Alt ⁽¹⁵⁾	2	13	4			
De Chydwall	From Childwall	[no entry]					
De Stanynge	From Staining ⁽¹⁶⁾	5	0	0			
De orreo ibidem	From a barn there	0	1	0			
De molendino ibidem	From the mill there	1	0	0			
De Merton	From Marton	0	10	0			
De Carleton	From Carleton	0	1	6			
De Ethilliswyke	From Elswick	0	3	4			
De Bankehowse	From Bankhouses ⁽¹⁷⁾	0	0	4			
De Mawnton	From Monton ⁽¹⁸⁾	16	18	0			
De Federsforth	From Frearforth ⁽¹⁹⁾	0	13	4			
De Placea Aliciae Morcell	From Alice Morcell's plot of land ⁽²⁰⁾	0	3	4			

⁽¹¹⁾ All the above rents are from Cheshire properties, Stanney, Aston and a house in Chester were part of the original endowment of Stanlaw Abbey by John, constable of Chester. The lands in Acton, Willington and Dutton were added later. Stanney was one of the abbey's granges situated close to Stanlaw itself

⁽¹²⁾ Cronton, in the parish of Prescott, near the modern Widnes. The property was granted to Stanlaw Abbey with the farm of the mill by Edmund de Lacy c. 1250 (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 3, pp. 392-3).

⁽¹³⁾ Denton, in Widnes, where one acre of land was granted to Stanlaw Abbey by Hugh Tyrel in the early thirteenth century (*Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 388 n.).

⁽¹⁴⁾ Garston and Aigburth, in the parish of Childwall and on the southern edge of modern Liverpool. Lands were granted to Stanlaw Abbey by the lord of Garston who died in 1265, and they included water rights, fisheries and a place for a tannery or fulling mill (*Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 122 n.).

⁽¹⁵⁾ Alt Grange in Ince Blundell, in the parish of Sefton, near the mouth of the river Alt and just south of modern Formby. William Blundell gave Stanlaw Abbey a mill on the Alt and land called Scholes, and the official in charge of the property was known as *the Granger of Alt* in 1283 (*Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 79-83).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Staining, in Hardhorn-with-Newton, in the parish of Poulton-le-Fylde, just outside modern Blackpool. The vill was granted to Stanlaw Abbey by John de Lacy in the early thirteenth century and became a grange and a centre for the Fylde estates, including those at Marton, Carleton and Elswick which follow in the account (*Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 235).

⁽¹⁷⁾ Bankhouses in Warton, in the parish of Kirkham, where land was granted to the abbey by Sir Robert de Beetham (*Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 172 n.).

⁽¹⁸⁾ Monton, the rectory manor of Eccles (*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 47-8 n.).

⁽¹⁹⁾ Frearforth Green in Monton. "John Hey houldeth a house, a garden, 4 acres of arable land, 5 acres of pasture and meadow called Freerforth Green, and payeth £0 13s 4d" (*Coucher Book*, p. 1238).

⁽²⁰⁾ This seems the most likely reading. The corresponding entries are transcribed by Whitaker as *Placea Alic' Morcell* in the 1521 account and *Placea Alice Morell* in the 1478 account. There is an entry under Swinton in the survey taken after the dissolution: "[William Orphey] houldeth a peace of ground called the place of Allis Morfield otherwyse called Huntingdow, late in the hands of the Abbote and convent . . ." and the amount of rent is the same as in the earlier accounts (*Ibid.*, p. 1239).

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
De Swynton	From Swinton	4	7	0			
De Cadiswalhede	From Cadishead	6	16	8			
De Woolden	From Woolden ⁽²¹⁾	9	3	4			
De Hughton	From Houghton ⁽²²⁾	2	14	0			
De molendino de Hulcroft	From the mill of Holcroft ⁽²³⁾	0	3	4			
De Kypull et Westwode	From Kitpool and Westwood	1	5	0			
De Westslakkes	From Westslacks ⁽²⁴⁾	1	0	0			
De Norwico	From Northwich	2	13	4			
De Rachedall	From Rochdale	24	11	11½	24	18	4½
De Whitworth	From Whitworth	14	19	2			
De Cowop et Brendwode	From Cowpe and Brandwood	6	0	0			
De molendino ibidem	From the mill there	1	0	0			
De Roclyf	From Rockcliffe ⁽²⁵⁾	2	13	4			
De Stanworth	From Stanworth	3	6	8			
De Brendscolles	From Brinscall	2	0	0			
De Whelton et Withynhyll	From Wheelton and Withnell ⁽²⁶⁾	0	8	0			
De Wytton	From Witton	2	13	4			
De Romesgreve	From Ramsgreave ⁽²⁷⁾	4	0	0			
De Brunley	From Burnley	1	14	0			
De Rybchestre	From Ribchester	0	2	1			
De Dutton	From Dutton [in Ribchester]	0	4	0			
De Edisforth	From Edisford	2	0	0			
De Wadyngton	From Waddington ⁽²⁸⁾	0	2	0			
De placea quondam Johannis Cliderhow	From the plot of land formerly belonging to John Clitheroe ⁽²⁹⁾	4	0	0			

⁽²¹⁾ The abbey held lands in Cadishead and Woolden on the western boundary of Barton-upon-Irwell, in the parish of Eccles (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 4, pp. 371-2).

⁽²²⁾ Little Houghton in Swinton (*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 389 n.).

⁽²³⁾ Presumably Holcroft in Culcheth, in Winwick parish, where the mill would be on the Glaze Brook close to Cadishead and Woolden.

⁽²⁴⁾ Kitpool, Westwood and Westslacks were part of the abbey estates in Swinton in the township of Worsley (*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 389 and n., and *Coucher Book*, p. 1241).

⁽²⁵⁾ Whitworth, Cowpe, Brandwood and Rockcliffe were in Spotland, in Rochdale parish, where the abbey had considerable possessions. Cowpe and Brandwood were pasture lands in the north of the township (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 5, p. 211 and H. Fishwick, *History of the Parish of Rochdale* (1889), p. 75 seq.).

⁽²⁶⁾ Stanworth and Brinscall were hamlets in Withnell. Withnell and Wheelton were townships in the parish of Leyland, situated between Blackburn and Chorley. The monks were lords of the manor of Wheelton (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, pp. 48-49 and n.).

⁽²⁷⁾ The monks acquired Witton Hall near Blackburn and the demesne of the manor in the fourteenth century. Ramsgreave was part of the forest of Blackburnshire, and a grant of cottages, lands and woods was made to the abbey by Henry, duke of Lancaster, in 1360. The survey taken after the dissolution refers to "a wood called Romes green wood . . . well replenished with ould okes and fair timber, containing by est. one myle and a half" (*Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 252 and 265, and *Coucher Book*, p. 1223).

⁽²⁸⁾ Edisford and Waddington, in Mitton parish on the Yorkshire side of the Ribble opposite Clitheroe. There was formerly a foundation for a leper hospital at Edisford, the endowment of which was afterwards acquired by Whalley Abbey (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, p. 371 n.).

⁽²⁹⁾ This plot was in the township of Clitheroe (*Coucher Book*, p. 1236).

		1521		
		£	s	d
		£	s	d
De Preston	From Preston	0	2	0
De Cliderhow	From Clitheroe	8	12	0
De Baldwynhyll	From Baldwin Hill ⁽³⁰⁾	1	6	8
De Standen	From Standen	4	13	4
De Hulcroft	From Hulcroft ⁽³¹⁾	1	1	8
De Coldcottes	From Cold Coats ⁽³²⁾	4	1	4
De Wyswall	From Wiswell	6	0	8
De Rede	From Read	0	12	0
De Byllyngton	From Billington	35	17	6
De serviciis eiusdem	From the services of the same	1	6	8
De serviciis Coldcottes, Wyswall et Asterley	From the services of Cold Coats, Wiswell and Asterley ⁽³³⁾	0	6	8
De Parva Harowode	From Little Harwood ⁽³⁴⁾	4	13	4
De Newfeld et Grenefeld	From Newfield and Greenfield ⁽³⁵⁾	2	0	0
De Harrowsbankes in Dutton	From Harrows Banks in Dutton ⁽³⁶⁾	3	0	0
De Calshagh in Chaterton	From Calshaw in Chadderton ⁽³⁷⁾	0	0	6
De Smarsall place in Rede	From Smarsall place in Read ⁽³⁸⁾	1	0	0
De terris Jacobi Garthsyde	From the lands of James Gartside ⁽³⁹⁾	0	3	4
De Halstides in Rachedall	From Hallstead in Rochdale ⁽⁴⁰⁾	0	1	0

⁽³⁰⁾ Baldwin Hill in Clitheroe was given by Roger de Lacy to the Hospital of Edisford and passed thence to Whalley Abbey. Identified by Whitaker with the modern name Bawdlands (*Op. cit.*, p. 96).

⁽³¹⁾ Standen and Hulcroft in Pendleton, in Whalley parish. Standen was a chief manor house of the honour of Clitheroe and the lands were granted to the abbey by Henry, duke of Lancaster, in 1360 (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, pp. 394-5).

⁽³²⁾ A detached part of the township of Little Mitton, Henthorn and Cold Coats, in Whalley parish, lying between Wiswell and Pendleton.

⁽³³⁾ Asterley was an estate in the township of Whalley (*Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 387).

⁽³⁴⁾ Now part of Blackburn, but formerly a separate township.

⁽³⁵⁾ The name *Newfield* occurs in Ramsgreave and in Wiswell where the abbey had properties (*Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 252 n. and p. 397 n.). A close of pasture called Newfield is also mentioned in the Act of Spoliation, and in the survey taken after the dissolution (*Coucher Book*, pp. 1177 and 1184). Neither Newfield nor Greenfield appears in the account of 1478 so they probably represent improvements.

⁽³⁶⁾ Harrows Banks is recorded in the survey taken after the dissolution—"Geffrey and Robert Dewhurst his brother houldeth 2 houses and 2 gardens, 2 acres of arable land, 10 acres of pasture, 3 acres of meadow called Harrowes Banckes" (*Coucher Book*, p. 1219).

⁽³⁷⁾ This property was in Chadderton, in Oldham parish. In the original grant by Gilbert of Notton the boundaries are described and include a section "following the ditch round Canleschagh as far as a certain pond on the south . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 48).

⁽³⁸⁾ This appears in the survey taken after the dissolution—"Alexander Nowill houldeth a house, a garden, 5 acres of arable land and 1 acre of meadow called Marshall place and payeth by the year £1 0s. 0d." (*Ibid.*, p. 1219). The property is referred to in later surveys as "Smarshall's farm", and can probably be identified with Read Lower Hall (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, pp. 505 and 506 n.).

⁽³⁹⁾ A person of this name is recorded as bailiff of the Rochdale hamlets in the survey after the dissolution (*Coucher Book*, p. 1232), and as bailiff of Marland, Castleton and Spotland in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. 5, p. 229.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ A farm near Shawforth in Whitworth (*Coucher Book*, p. 640 n.).

		£	s	d	1521		
					£	s	d
De Clayton super Moras	From Clayton-le-Moors	0	10	0			
De Penhulton	From Pendleton [par. Whalley]	0	13	4			
De Bagsladhey in Rachedall	From Bagslate Hey in Rochdale ⁽⁴¹⁾	0	3	4			
De molendino in Rossendale	From the mill in Rossendale	1	5	0			
De Grenewarth apud Stanlow	From Greenworth at Stanlaw	2	6	8			
De Rocliffwode in Rossendale	From Rockcliffe Wood in Rossendale ⁽⁴²⁾	0	10	0			
De molendino de Coptrode	From the mill of Coptrod ⁽⁴³⁾	0	3	4			
Summa	Total	281	1	2½	281	7	10½

DE PERQUISITIS
[FROM PROFITS]

		£	s	d	1521		
					£	s	d
De stipite beate Marie et sancti Henrici apud chapel	From the offertory of the blessed Mary and saint Henry at the chapel ⁽⁴⁴⁾	0	1	4	0	1	6
De sigisterio	From lees ⁽⁴⁵⁾	1	13	4			
De agistamento estimali	From summer agistment	1	4	0			
De agistamento yemali	From winter agistment	2	0	0	2	14	0
De superexrescencia officii subcellarii	From the surplus of the office of sub-cellarer	5	7	8	7	2	7
De superexrescencia officii cellarii	From the surplus of the office of cellarer	1	10	8	2	15	2
De mensa vicarii	From the board of the vicar ⁽⁴⁶⁾	2	13	4			
De eodem pro pane et vino	From the same for bread and wine	1	6	8			

⁽⁴¹⁾ Bagslate Moor was the common land of the hamlet of Chadwick on the western side of Rochdale (Fishwick, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

⁽⁴²⁾ Rockcliffe and Rockliffe are on opposite sides of the valley in which the modern town of Bacup lies. Rockcliffe above the Newchurch road is presumably referred to here, since Rockcliffe lay in the township of Spotland and is referred to earlier in the account.

⁽⁴³⁾ The name of a farm in Spotland (*Coucher Book*, p. 600 n.).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ These are presumably offerings at the altar of the lady chapel, which was built in the time of Abbot Paslew, but whose exact whereabouts have not yet been discovered. Saint Henry apparently refers to King Henry VI, who was the object of a popular cult in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In about 1498, Henry VII decided to apply to Rome for canonisation and for the establishment of a shrine at Windsor or Westminster, but these projects were never carried out. Henry VI had another connection with Whalley in that he had dissolved the hermitage founded by Henry, duke of Lancaster, and endowed instead two chaplains to say Mass daily in the parish church for the soul of the founder, for his own good estate while living, and on the anniversary of his death (Knowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97, and Whitaker, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 119 n.).

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *Sigisterium* is a variant of *segisterium* meaning dregs, or, in the dialect, draff. Lees are brewer's dregs.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ This will be the vicar of Whalley, who was usually appointed from among the members of the convent and had accommodation within the precincts.

		1521						
		£	s	d	£	s	d	
De eodem pro ortis et vaccariis	From the same for orchards and pastures	0	10	0	1	10	0	
De tannaria	From the tannery ⁽⁴⁷⁾	3	6	8				
De pellibus bovinis et vaccinis	From the hides of oxen and cows	4	10	0				
De corticibus arborum	From the bark of trees	0	5	0				
De amerciamentis curie	From fines of the court ⁽⁴⁸⁾	0	13	4				
De orto stabuli	From the stable orchard	0	5	0				
De ryddes venditis apud Willaton	From riddings sold at Willington ⁽⁴⁹⁾	1	6	8				
De nova clausura apud Romesgreve	From a new enclosure at Ramsgreave	4	0	0				
De terris Roberti Cunclif per forisfactura	From the lands of Robert Cunliffe for a forfeiture ⁽⁵⁰⁾	0	14	8	0	4	8	
De Petro Dunbabyn 1 heriall	From Peter Dunbabyn one heriot	0	16	0			[no entry]	
De Thoma Coke 1 heriall	From Thomas Coke one heriot ⁽⁵¹⁾	0	16	8			[no entry]	
	Summa	Total	33	1	0	34	11	9
Summa totalis	Sum total of receipts		895	14	6	908	2	9

EXPENSE DE FIRMIS EXTERIORIBUS
[EXPENDITURE ON RENTS PAID OUT]

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Domino regi pro Edisforth	To our lord the king for Edisford	0	3	0			
Eidem pro Snodworth	To the same for Snodworth ⁽⁵²⁾	0	0	3			
Eidem pro Standen	— Standen	3	6	8			
Eidem pro Bawldwynhyll	— Baldwin Hill	1	0	3			
Eidem pro Whytworth	— Whitworth	0	12	8			
Eidem pro Mawnton	— Monton	0	6	0			
Eidem pro Brunley	— Burnley	0	0	2½			

⁽⁴⁷⁾ A barkhouse is mentioned in the survey taken after the dissolution (*Coucher Book*, p. 1201). The following entries for hides and bark no doubt also refer to the tannery.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ This is probably the court in which the abbot and monks of Whalley exercised the exempt ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the forests of Bowland, Pendle, Rossendale and Trawden, and which was normally held in Whalley parish church at this period (See *Act Book of Whalley Abbey*, Chetham Soc. O.S., Vol. 44).

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Judging by the rent, this can be identified with the "pasture of Willaton wood which is 1 acre . . ." held by Roger Bride c. 1540 (*Coucher Book*, p. 1253). *Riddings* are clearings.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Robert Cunliffe of Wilpshire, gentleman, who held an estate in Billington of the abbot, was outlawed in 1514 for the murder of Elias Wood of Dinckley. Thus in 1520 and 1521 his lands were in the hands of the abbot by forfeiture (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, p. 331).

⁽⁵¹⁾ A feudal payment of the best live beast or dead chattel to a lord on the death of a tenant.

⁽⁵²⁾ A farm in Billiffe, on the western side of the township close to the boundary with Wilpshire (*Coucher Book*, p. 947).

		1521		
		£	s	d
Domino de Eland	To the lord of Elland ⁽⁵³⁾	0	14	1
Domino de Barton	— Barton	0	0	11
Domino de Worsley	— Worsley	0	7	11
Heredibus Cristoferi Holt	To the heirs of Christopher Holt ⁽⁵⁴⁾	0	3	0
Monialibus de Hampull	To the nuns of Hampole	0	12	0
Monialibus Cestrie	— Chester	0	10	0
Abbati de Chestrie [sic]	To the abbot of Chester ⁽⁵⁵⁾	0	9	0
Castello de Leverpull pro sectis et wardis	To Liverpool Castle for suits of court and castle guards	0	2	0
Summa	Total	8	7	11½

IN DONIS
[IN GIFTS]

		1521		
		£	s	d
Quatuor ordinibus fratrum	To the four orders of friars	0	4	0
Ministrallys	To minstrels	2	4	0
Domino Thome comiti de Derby	To Thomas, earl of Derby ⁽⁵⁶⁾	—		[no entry]
Domino de Mowntegill	To Lord Mouteagle	2	0	0
Hugoni Shereburn armigeri	To Hugh Shireburn, esquire	1	0	0
Johanni Talbott armigeri	To John Talbot, esquire	1	0	0
Ricardo Hesketh	To Richard Hesketh	0	6	8
Magistro Snede	To Master Snede	1	0	0
Thome Strawe	To Thomas Straw	0	6	8
Magistro Feirfax	To Master Fairfax	0	13	4
Willelmo Brether	To William Brether	0	4	0
Mathe Standysh	To Matthew Standish	0	13	4
Thome Grymysdych	To Thomas Grimsditch	0	6	8
Laurentio Starke	To Lawrence Starkie	1	0	0
Magistro Merney	To Master Merney	6	13	4
Cristofero Halstede cum aliis	To Christopher Halstead with others	0	1	8
Willelmo David	To William David	0	0	6
Famulis domini regis in cella vinaria	To servants of our lord the king in the wine cellar	0	10	0
Famulis domini episcopi	To servants of the lord bishop	0	13	4

(53) Elland, in Halifax parish, Yorkshire. The lords of Elland held land in Whitworth and John of Elland granted land there to the abbey (*Ibid.*, pp. 637 seq.; Fishwick, *op. cit.* pp. 19-21).

(54) *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records rents paid to Robert Holt for lands in Castleton.

(55) Hampole is the Cistercian priory of Hampole, near Doncaster, whose nuns held land in Whitworth. The nuns of Chester were of the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary's, Chester. A series of agreements were negotiated between the abbots of Whalley and St. Werburgh's, Chester, about the tithes, etc. of Stanney (*Coucher Book*, pp. 532 seq.).

(56) Thomas's son, Edward, 3rd. earl of Derby, was steward of Whalley Abbey at the time of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Monacho de Lowthe cum aliis	To a monk of Louth with others ⁽⁵⁷⁾	0	1	8	[no entry]		
Doctori de Lancastrìa	To a doctor of Lancaster	0	3	4			
Georgio Gerard cum aliis	To George Gerard with others	0	1	1	[no entry]		
Hugoni Chernok cum aliis	To Hugh Charnock with others	0	3	4	0	2	0
Nuncio domini Regis	To a messenger of our lord the king	0	8	8	[no entry]		
Cuidam fratri cum aliis	To a certain friar with others	0	1	4	0	3	4
Ursariis	To bearwards	0	10	0			
Magistro Olivero	To Master Oliver	1	2	0	[no entry]		
Monachis Cistercii	To monks of Cîteaux	0	5	0	[no entry]		
Doctori Adriano cum pothecario	To Doctor Adrian with apothecary	0	7	0	[no entry]		
Famulo domini Mowntegyll	To a servant of Lord Mouteagle	0	1	8	[no entry]		
Johanni Fylden capellano	To John Fielden, chaplain	0	6	8	[no entry]		
Johanni Wode	To John Wood	0	1	8	[no entry]		
Questoribus	To the pardoners ⁽⁵⁸⁾	0	3	4			
Pauperibus per annum	To the poor for the year	1	16	0	2	0	0
Forestariis	To the foresters	1	10	8	1	10	0
Ballivo de Wirall	To the bailiff of Wirral	0	1	0			
Ballivo de Aston	To the bailiff of Aston	0	1	0	[no entry]		
Willelmo Whithove	To William Whithove ⁽⁵⁹⁾	0	1	8			
Officiale Cestrie	To the official of Chester	0	13	4	0	10	0
Registro eiusdem	To the registry of the same	0	3	4			
Submonitori eiusdem	To the summoner of the same ⁽⁶⁰⁾	0	0	4			
Summa	Total ⁽⁶¹⁾	27	1	7	23	19	4

⁽⁵⁷⁾ The Cistercian abbey of Louth Park, Lincolnshire.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Pardoners or questors were collectors of alms, who had letters of credence from the pope and could grant indulgences.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ A William Whithove is recorded as bailiff of Stanney in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The official exercised the jurisdiction of a bishop and presided over the consistory or diocesan court. The summoner was an officer of an ecclesiastical court whose main duty was to serve citations or summonses.

⁽⁶¹⁾ These gifts are a mixture of payments, some regular some casual. They include pensions to noblemen and local landowners, who might serve the abbey in some capacity. The earl of Derby was chief steward, the Shireburns and Talbots were landowners in Mitton and Salesbury respectively. There were additional payments in 1521 to "Master Rokesby, Alexander Rishton, a servant of the bishop of Sodor, a servant of the king, William Shireburn and others, a servant of the king at various times, Robert Swansea, the chancellor of Lancaster, Master Martin, Master Cliff, a servant of the same, a monk of Tintern with others, monks of Whalley, monks of Fountains, a certain priest, William Waller with others, Richard Banks and the chaplain at Whitewell."

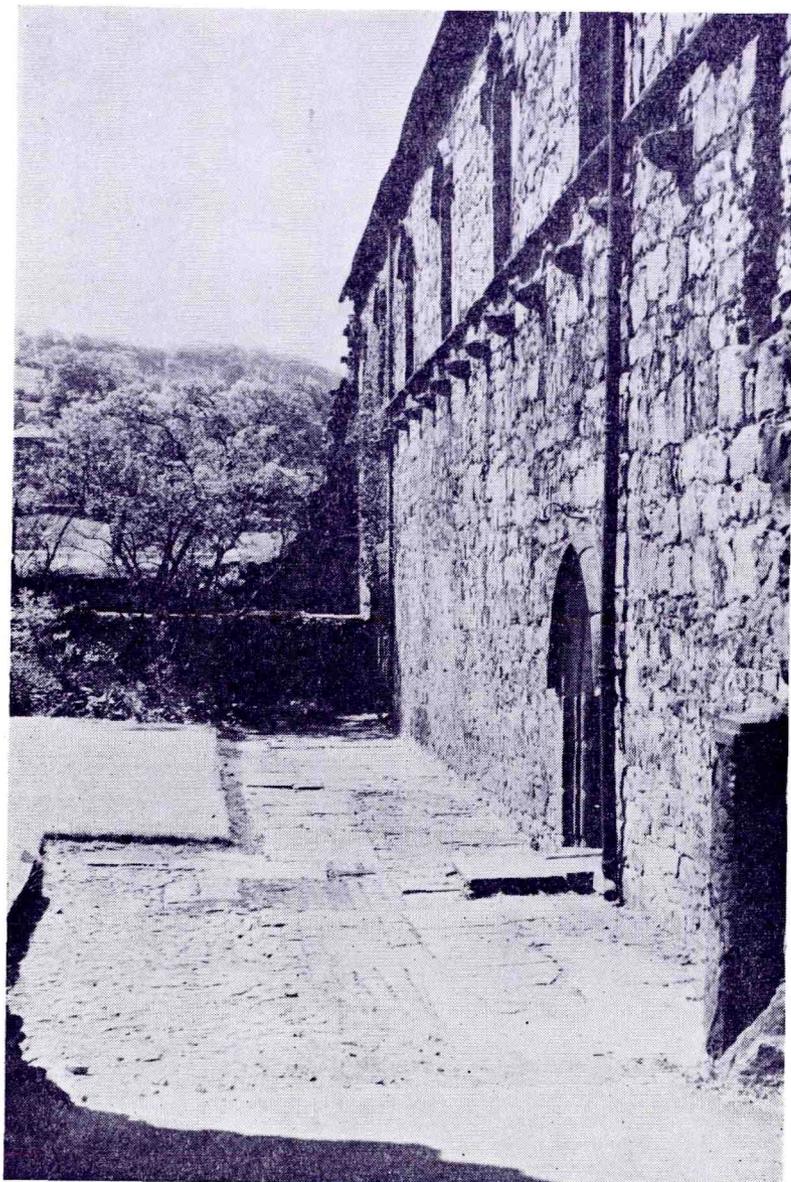
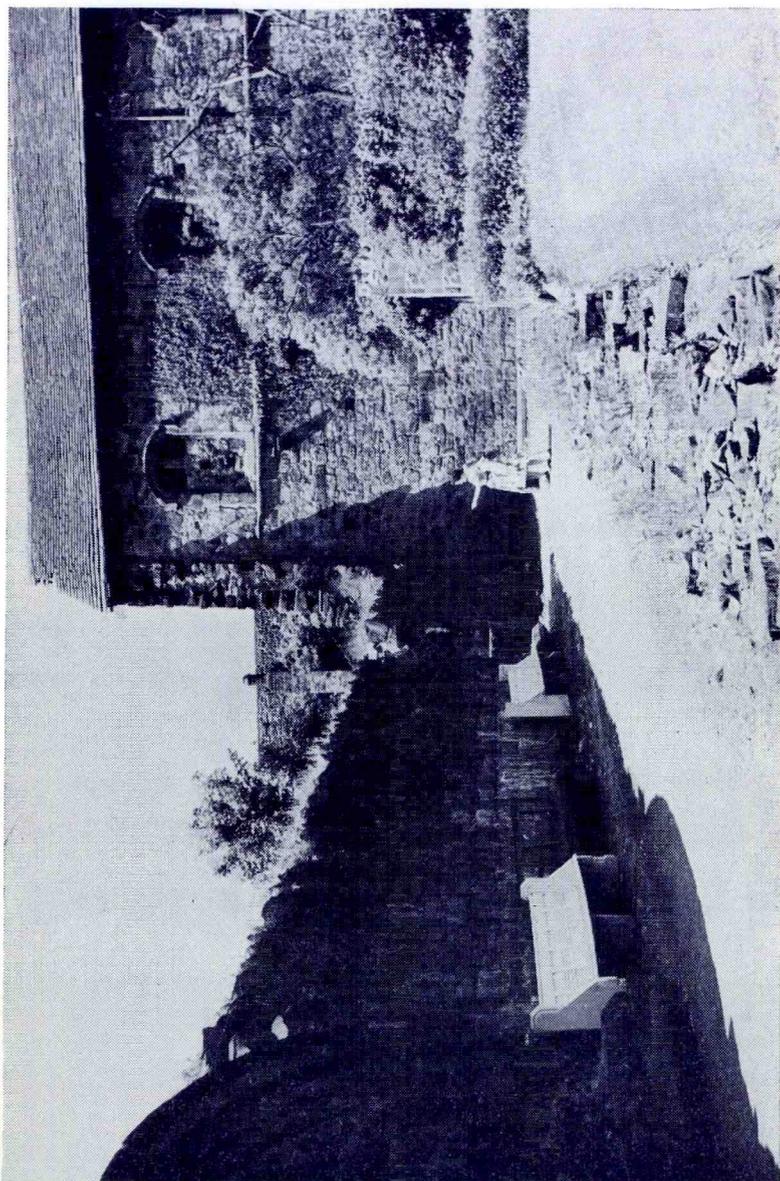


Plate 2a. WHALLEY ABBEY
Eastern wall of the Cellarium

Photograph by L. Barton



Photograph by L. Barton

Plate 2b. WHALLEY ABBEY

Southern walk of the Cloister: the Refectory and Kitchen were beyond the wall on the left of the picture

IN ITINERANTIBUS
[IN TRAVELLING EXPENSES]

		£	s	d	£	s	d
Domino abbati versus London	The lord abbot to London	26	5	0			
Eidem versus Hornbie	The same to Hornby	1	0	0			
Eidem versus Lathom	— Lathom	1	0	0			
Eidem versus Eccles	— Eccles	1	13	4			
Cristofero Smyth versus Chestriam	Christopher Smith to Chester	0	10	6			
Eidem versus Acton	The same to Acton	0	13	4			
Laurentio Forest versus Hornby et alio	Lawrence Forest to Hornby and elsewhere	0	2	0			
Eidem versus Lancastriam	The same to Lancaster	0	11	0	See note 62		
Eidem cum Ranulpho Lynney versus Lancastriam	— with Ranulph Lynney to Lancaster	0	16	8			
Lionello Full versus Croenton	Lionel Full to Cronton	0	4	0			
Eidem versus . . .	The same to . . .						
Ricardo Cromboke versus Hull	Richard Crombock to Hull	0	17	3			
Ricardo Whitacre versus Waryngton et alio	Richard Whitaker to Warrington and elsewhere	0	4	0			
Summa	Total ⁽⁶²⁾	33	17	1	21	1	4

IN VARIIS EXPENSIS
[IN VARIOUS EXPENSES]

		£	s	d	£	s	d
Domino abbati pro habitu	To the lord abbot for his habit	5	0	0			
Coventui pro habitu	To the convent for their habits	47	16	8	47	0	0
Provisori conventus	To the provisor of the convent ⁽⁶³⁾	73	9	2	71	16	0

⁽⁶²⁾ There is no direct correspondence between the entries in 1520 and those in 1521. In 1521, the abbot made journeys to Brough, Bolton, Durham, Combermere and Stanlaw, and Ripon, costing £10 5s. 0d. in all. Christopher Smith went to Chester and Acton (£1 5s. 4d.), Lawrence Forest twice to Lancaster (£1 18s. 0d.), Lionel Full to London three times (£4 17s. 8d.), Richard Crombock to Hull and Oxford (£2 13s. 0d.), and Peter Dean to Manchester (2s. 0d.). It is interesting to compare the cost of Lionel Full's three journeys to London with that of the single journey made by Paslew in 1520.

Of the people mentioned in this section, there are traces elsewhere:

Christopher Smith: the last prior of Whalley had this name, but there was also a Christopher Smith who was bailiff of Acton in 1535 and whose functions would agree well with the journeys made.

Lawrence Forest: the name of the receiver of the rectory of Whalley in 1535.

Ranulph Lynney: mentioned by Whitaker as one of the monks at the time. A Ranulph Lynney was receiver of the rectory of Blackburn in 1535.

Lionel Full: the name of the receiver of Cronton, Garston and Aigburth in 1535.

Richard Crombock: the name of one of the sub-stewards in 1535.

⁽⁶³⁾ Cf. regular weekly payments made to the provisor at Durham. They totalled £116 8s. 7½d. in 1530-1, £130 0s. 9d. in 1531-2, £132 8s. 2d. in 1532-3, and £115 10s. 8d. in 1533-4 (*Durham Household Books*, Surtees Soc., pp. 39, 119, 218, 318, 342).

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Pro vino	For wine	31	5	0	33	15	8
Pro vino dulci	For sweet wine ⁽⁶⁴⁾	4	1	8	9	0	0
Pro butiro et caseo	For butter and cheese	22	0	0	25	9	0
Pro robis servienciorum	For servants' clothes	17	10	0	17	12	0
Pro plumbo viz. ij plaustra	For lead, viz. 2 cartloads	6	13	4			
Pro bobus emptis ad grangiam	For oxen bought for the grange	4	0	0	3	10	0
Pro animalibus emptis ad staurum	For animals bought for stock	3	7	2	6	13	4
Famulis abbatibus	To the abbot's servants	12	0	0			
Pro cera rubea	For red wax	0	1	0			
Pro cera sacriste	For sacrist's wax ⁽⁶⁵⁾	2	0	0	3	0	0
Pro empcione et mutacione vasorum	For purchase and exchange of vessels	3	6	8	1	15	0
Pro filo albo	For white thread	0	6	8			
Pro filo nigro	For black thread	0	2	0	0	3	0
Pro pannum lineum [sic]	For linen cloth	1	6	0	1	6	8
Pro pannum laneum [sic]	For woollen cloth	5	0	0			
Pro oleo ad ecclesiam	For oil for the church	1	3	0	1	1	0
Pro curacione equorum	For looking after the horses	0	6	8	0	15	0
Pro capistris, frennis et funibus	For halters, bridles and ropes	0	2	0	0	2	6
Pro clavis equorum	For horses' nails	0	12	0	0	15	0
Pro ferro hispanico	For Spanish iron	2	10	0	6	6	8
Pro clavis duplicibus	For double nails	0	16	8	1	0	0
Pro clavis singulis	For single nails	0	10	0			
Pro stonebrode	For stonebrode	0	12	0	0	9	0
Pro strebrode	For strebrode ⁽⁶⁶⁾	0	3	4	0	2	0
Pro pice	For pitch	0	1	8			
Pro sclaitstonys	For slatestones	1	18	10	0	10	0
Pro smigmat	For soap	0	5	0	0	6	0
Pro cera abbati	For the abbot's wax	0	7	0			
Pro sectis captis apud Lancasteriam	For suits held at Lancaster	0	11	10	1	2	0
Pro vomeribus	For ploughshares	0	3	0			
Pro singulis equorum	For horses' girdles	0	1	8			
Pro cellis et huiusmodi	For saddles and that sort of thing	1	0	0	0	16	4
Pro calebe	For steel	0	3	0			
Pro pergameno	For parchment	0	6	8			
Pro papiro	For paper	0	1	0			
Pro bitumine	For bitumen	0	2	0			
Pro calce	For lime	0	15	0			
Pro resina	For resin	0	4	0			
Pro canabo	For canvas	0	15	0			
Capellano castri	To the chaplain of the castle ⁽⁶⁷⁾	4	0	0			
Pro contribucionibus studii	For contributions to the college	2	0	0			

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Between 1530 and 1534, wine bought at Durham cost from 30s. 0d. to £2 a hogshead. At those prices Whalley's annual consumption would lie between about 1150 and 1500 gallons (*Ibid.*, pp. 49 and 135).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Red wax would be sealing wax: sacrist's wax for use in church.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ *Stonebrod* was a northern word for a slate pin (*O.E.D.*). *Strebrode* appears to be a form of *strawbrod*, meaning a nail for thatching. *Stre* or *strey* was a dialect word for straw.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The abbey gained the control of St Michael's chapel in Clitheroe castle in the fourteenth century.

		1521		1521			
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Pro colleccione eorundem [sic]	For collection of the same ⁽⁶⁸⁾	0	3	4	0	3	0
Pro carriacione focalium	For carriage of fuel	0	10	0			
Pro carriacione lapidum	For carriage of stone	3	0	0	4	10	10
Pro messione	For reaping	2	11	8	2	10	0
Pro carriacione focalium conventui	For carriage of fuel for the convent	0	10	4			
Clericis in Cena Domini	To clerks on Maundy Thursday	0	5	0			
Pauperibus in Cena Domini	To the poor on Maundy Thursday	0	7	0			
Pro sotularibus eorundem	For shoes of the same ⁽⁶⁹⁾	0	8	0			
Pro ciphis ligneis	For wooden cups	0	0	6	0	0	7
Collectori domini pape	To the pope's collector	0	7	0			
Sutrici	To a sewing woman	0	2	0			
Magistro operum	To the master of the works ⁽⁷⁰⁾	0	3	4			
Custodi orologii	To the keeper of the clock	0	3	4			
Custodi de chymys	— chimes	0	3	4			
Monacho cellarii pro candelis	To the monk of the stores for candles	0	2	0			
Edwardi Fysh pro custodia silvarum	To Edward Fish for look- ing after the woods	0	2	4	[no entry]		
Pro colleccione firme de Cliderhow	For collecting the rent of Clitheroe	0	6	8			
Pro colleccione firme de Rachedall	— Rochdale	0	6	8			
Pro colleccione firme de Eccles	— Eccles	0	3	4			
Pro colleccione firme de Byllyngton	— Billington	0	3	4			
Pro introduccione garba- rum	For bringing in corn sheaves	1	12	0	2	0	0
Pro materiis incausti	For the ingredients of ink	0	1	4			
In decasis firme de Clyder- how	In decays of the rent of Clitheroe	0	8	0			
In decasis firme de Harwoodbankes pro conventu	— Harwoodbanks for the convent	2	6	8			
In decasis de Newfeld et Greenfeld in propriis manibus	In decays of Newfield and Greenfield in their own possession	2	0	0			
Scolari pro rata	To the scholar at the usual rate ⁽⁷¹⁾	5	0	0			
Pro reparacione terebrorum	For repair of gimlets	0	1	8			
Conventui pro termino sancti Johannis Baptiste	To the convent for pay- ment due at the feast of St. John the Baptist ⁽⁷²⁾	11	6	8			

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Presumably contributions to St. Bernard's College, Oxford, founded in the fifteenth century for Cistercians studying at Oxford. See Knowles, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 24-6.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Under a foundation of John de Lacy, the abbey had an obligation to distribute alms on Maundy Thursday to clerks and poor people after a ceremonial washing of their feet, and to give a pair of shoes to thirteen older paupers.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ The master of works controlled the building operations of the monastery.

⁽⁷¹⁾ The abbey had an annual exhibition of £5 for a scholar at Oxford. In 1521 there is a payment of £9 6s. 8d. for him to take his bachelor's degree.

⁽⁷²⁾ Doubtless a regular allowance paid to the monks. It may even represent one instalment of a quarterly payment. Such payments were a feature of monastic life in the later Middle Ages.

				1521			
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Radulfo Walton pro custodia Westwode et Weteley	To Ralph Walton for looking after Westwood and Wheatley ⁽⁷³⁾	0	6	8			
Pro tercio monacho apud Stanlow	For the third monk at Stanlaw ⁽⁷⁴⁾	1	0	0			
Pro carbonibus marinis	For coal	—					
Pro sportis et huiusmodi	For baskets and that sort of thing	0	7	6	0	9	0
Pro reparacione pontis apud Stanlow	For repairing the bridge at Stanlaw ⁽⁷⁵⁾	0	10	0	0	6	0
Jacobo Wode pro concordia	To James Wood for an agreement	0	6	8			[no entry]
Pro cilicio ad usterinum	For a hair cloth for the kiln	0	19	8			[no entry]
Ponthe de Bury	For the bridge of Bury	0	2	0			[no entry]
Pro ceris emptis	For purchase of wax seals	0	6	8			[no entry]
Pro reparacione molendini de Acton	For repair of Acton mill	1	0	0			[no entry]
Pro vestimentis	For vestments	4	10	0			[no entry]
Pro dimidio unius decime domino regi	For half a tithe to the king	9	13	4			[no entry]
Pro reparacione apud Wulden	For a repair at Woolden	1	5	0	1	10	0
Pro dono domino cardinali	For a gift to the lord cardinal	22	0	0			[no entry]
In decasis ballive wapyn-tagii	In decays of the bailiwick of the wapentake ⁽⁷⁶⁾	2	4	0			[no entry]
Summa	Total ⁽⁷⁷⁾	336	3	8	341	8	3

IN EMPCIONE GRANI
[IN PURCHASE OF CORN]

				1521			
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Pro frumento extra patriam viz. 268½ quarti 3 buscelli	For wheat outside the area, 268½ quarters 3 bushels ⁽⁷⁸⁾	169	8	4	77	15	3
Pro frumento infra patriam 4 quarti 3 buscelli	For wheat purchased locally, 4 quarters 3 bushels	6	5	10	7	6	8
Pro ordio brasiato extra patriam 193 quarti	For barley malt outside the area, 193 quarters	84	8	2	54	18	10

⁽⁷³⁾ Westwood and Wheatley both occur as closes of pasture in the demesne lands of the abbey in the survey taken after the dissolution (*Coucher Book*, pp. 1184-5).

⁽⁷⁴⁾ The abbey maintained monks at Stanlaw after the move to Whalley until the dissolution.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ This should be read—*pro reparacione poucarum*—for the repair of sacks.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Henry, earl of Lancaster, granted the fourth part of the bailiwick of Blackburn hundred to the abbot of Whalley in the time of Edward III (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, p. 231).

⁽⁷⁷⁾ In 1521 there were also payments for a wild boar £0 6s. 8d., vessels for the convent 19s. 0d., organs and repairs £6 13s. 4d., live bream for the ponds 10s. 0d., hangings, carpets, etc. 16s. 0d., ornaments and a glass for the altar £1 3s. 0d., deeds of a house at Padiham £2 2s. 0d., painters' colours 12s. 0d., glazing 10s. 0d., and a monk of Furness £4 13s. 4d.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ *Patria* could mean county, district or neighbourhood. Whichever is preferred in the context, it refers to a local area.

		£ s d		1521			
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Pro ordio brasiato infra patriam	For barley malt purchased locally	—			24	12	4
Pro avenagio brasiato infra patriam 1 quartus 2 buscelli	For oat malt purchased locally, 1 quarter 2 bushels	0	7	10	1	2	4
Pro pisis cum cariacione	For pease with carriage	0	18	0			
Granatoris super O Sapientia	To the granger for Advent ⁽⁷⁹⁾	0	4	0			
Falumis [sic] grangiae ⁽⁸⁰⁾	To the servants of the grange	14	1	8			
In serviciis per abbatem	In services for the abbot	5	0	0			
Pro pane empto apud Walkfeld cum cariacione	For bread bought at Walkfeld with carriage ⁽⁸¹⁾	0	7	0			
Pro sectis in curia christianitatis	For suits in the court christian ⁽⁸²⁾	0	3	4			
Pro ordio infra patriam 2½ quarti	For barley purchased locally, 2½ quarters	1	13	4	4	4	3
Summa	Total ⁽⁸³⁾	282	17	6	190	13	8

IN DIVERSIS CARIAGIIS
[IN VARIOUS PAYMENTS FOR CARRIAGE]

		£ s d		1521			
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Pro frumento extra patriam	For wheat outside the area	25	16	8	15	0	0
Pro ordio brasiato extra patriam	For barley malt outside the area	15	0	0	8	6	8
Pro providencia domus	For provisions for the monastery	4	10	0	4	0	8
Pro vino	For wine	6	6	8	5	10	0
Pro sale, viz. 25 kranok	For salt, viz. 25 crannocks	1	9	2	2	1	6
Summa	Total	53	2	6	34	18	10

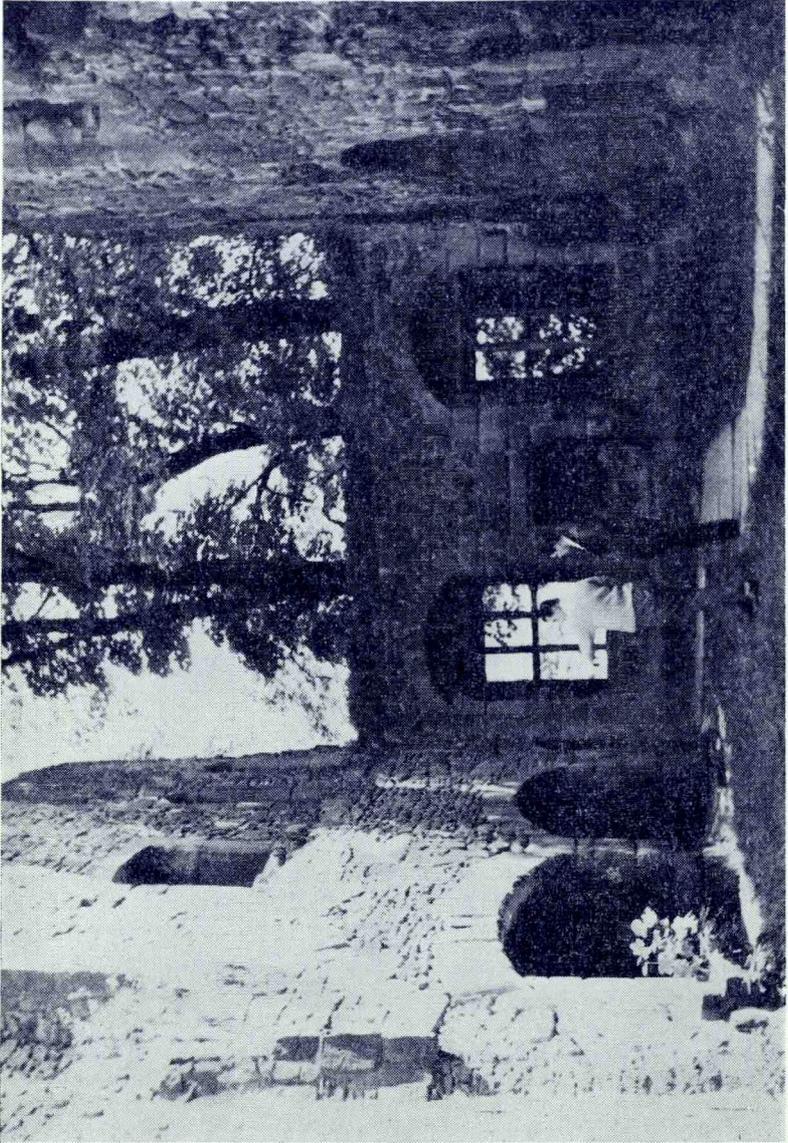
⁽⁷⁹⁾ The Os of Advent or the seven Advent antiphons each contained an invocation beginning with *O*, e.g. *O Sapientia*. This became the term for an allowance made at Advent (Baxter and Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word List* (1934), p. 282).

⁽⁸⁰⁾ *Falumis* must be a clerical error for *famulis*, servants.

⁽⁸¹⁾ There was a Walkerfield at Colne and a Walkerfold at Chaigley (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 6, pp. 525 n., 527, and Vol. 7, p. 197).

⁽⁸²⁾ Court Christian is a general term for an ecclesiastical court.

⁽⁸³⁾ The 1521 purchases are naturally for different quantities the details of which are: 174 quarters 3 bushels of wheat outside the area, 4 quarters 6 bushels of wheat purchased locally, 107½ quarters of barley malt outside the area, 29½ quarters 3 bushels of barley malt purchased locally, 4 quarters 2 bushels of oat malt purchased locally, 7½ quarters 6 bushels of barley purchased locally. It is noteworthy in relation to the agricultural history of the area that the vast bulk of the corn came from outside the local area and that this is more marked in the case of wheat than barley.



Photograph by L. Barton

**Plate 3. WHALLEY ABBEY
Abbot's Kitchen**

IN COQUINA ABBATIS
[IN THE ABBOT'S KITCHEN]

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
In carnibus bovinis et vaccinum [sic.]	In beef	72	4	6	72	19	0
In carnibus ovinis	In mutton	11	16	8	15	8	0
In carnibus vitulinis	In veal	8	13	10	8	0	5
In carnibus porcinis	In pork	2	1	6	1	10	0
In carnibus porcellinis	In flesh of young pigs	0	17	2	0	16	0
In carnibus agnorum	In lamb ⁽⁸⁴⁾	1	1	7	0	17	0
In carnibus edulium [agrestium] et volatiliium	In flesh of wild game and fowl ⁽⁸⁵⁾	2	4	8	1	10	6
In piscibus recentibus	In fresh fish	37	8	10	39	17	3
Piscatoribus pro mercede	To the fishermen for wages	3	0	0	3	0	0
Summa	Total	139	8	9	143	18	11

IN PROVIDENCIA DOMUS
[IN PROVISIONS FOR THE MONASTERY]

		1521					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
In alleciis rubiis meliorum sectorum	In red herrings of the better cuts	7	13	4	5	15	0
In alleciis rubiis viliorum sectorum	In red herrings of the cheaper cuts						
In alleciis albis	In white herrings ⁽⁸⁶⁾	4	0	0	5	12	0
In piscibus duris	In hard fish ⁽⁸⁷⁾	3	5	0	3	12	0
In piscibus salsis	In salted fish	15	4	0	11	10	0
In salmonibus salsis	In salted salmon	3	8	0	1	16	0
In anguillis salsis	In salted eels	0	10	0	0	11	4
Pro sale viz. 25 kranok	For salt viz. 25 crannocks ⁽⁸⁸⁾	4	12	4	5	3	8
Pro ficibus et racemis	For figs and raisins	0	7	8			
Pro amigdalis	For almonds	0	6	8			
Pro racemis de Coran	For currants	0	5	4			
Pro pipere	For pepper	4	0	0	4	2	0
Pro croco	For saffron ⁽⁸⁹⁾	1	14	0	1	16	0

⁽⁸⁴⁾ The number of animals consumed is a matter for conjecture. Whitaker suggests for 1521 75 oxen and cows, 80 sheep, 40 calves and 4 pigs. (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 132). At Durham in 1530-1, cows ranged from 8s. 8d. to 11s. 0d., oxen from 14s. 0d. to 17s. 0d., sheep from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d., lambs from 10d. to 1s 5d., pigs from 2s. 0d. to 4s. 8d. (*Durham Household Books*, pp. 27-31). Such prices would give higher figures than Whitaker's.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ In his transcription of the 1478 account, Whitaker gives this item as "in car.edul. agr. et vol." (Whitaker, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 129).

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Red herrings are cured by smoking, white herrings salted but not smoked. Whitaker suggests a consumption of 45 barrels in 1521, which seems plausible: a barrel normally held 500 or 600 fish (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 130). At Durham white herrings averaged about 10s. 0d. a barrel, red herrings about 1s 0d. a hundred (*Durham Household Books*, pp. 9, 34-5, 89).

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Hard fish is cod, ling, etc. salted and dried (*O.E.D.*).

⁽⁸⁸⁾ 26 crannocks were purchased in 1521. A crannock was a dry measure varying in different places and according to the commodity (*O.E.D.*). At Durham 4s. 0d. a quarter (8 bushels) was paid for salt in 1531-2, which suggests that a crannock was similar to a quarter (*Durham Household Books*, p. 70).

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Saffron is orange-red produce made from dried stigmas of autumnal crocus and used for colouring confectionery and flavouring (*O.E.D.*).

				1521			
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Pro zinzibero	For ginger	0	2	0	0	2	6
Pro avelanis	For nuts	0	1	0			
Pro libis et tiriaca	For cakes and treacle	0	10	0	0	6	8
Pro nutmuke	For nutmeg	0	1	0			
Pro diversis specibus	For various spices	0	0	6			
Pro succarcande	For sugar candy	0	1	0			
Pro succar	For sugar	0	15	0	0	9	0
Pro turnusoll, alkenet, tinsol et aliis	For turnsole, alkenet, tinsol and other things ⁽⁹⁰⁾	0	2	0	0	1	0
Pro gariofolis et maces	For cloves and mace	1	0	0			
Pro licores et sinamomo	For liquorice and cin- namon	0	3	4	0	4	0
Pro rices	For rice	0	1	0			
Pro oleo olive	For olive oil	0	16	8	0	18	5
Pro zinzibero viridi	For green ginger	0	6	0	0	4	0
Pro sawnders	For sawnders (or alex- anders) ⁽⁹¹⁾	0	5	0			
Pro dactilis	For dates	0	1	0			
Pro granis paradisi	For grains of paradise ⁽⁹²⁾	0	0	10			
Pro sturgio	For sturgeon	0	10	0	0	10	8
	Summa						
	Total	50	2	8	44	15	7
In mercedibus curie	In fees of the court	7	8	4			
In fabrica ecclesie	On the fabric of the church ⁽⁹³⁾	22	0	0	23	0	0
Summa totalis expensorum	Sum total of expenditure	960	10	0½	839	11	5½
Superexcrecentia expen- sorum	Excess of expenditure over income	64	15	6	See note ⁽⁹⁴⁾		

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Turnsole is violet-blue or purple colouring matter obtained from the plant *crozophora tinctoria* and formerly used for colouring jellies, confectionery wines etc. and later as a pigment (O.E.D.).

Alkenet is dye material obtained from roots of a boraginaceous plant which yields a fine red colour (O.E.D.).

Tinsol ???

⁽⁹¹⁾ This could be either sandal wood, formerly used for colouring jellies and other articles of confectionery red (O.E.D.), or saunders or alexanders, horse parsley. It is difficult to choose between them in the context.

⁽⁹²⁾ Capsules of the plant *amomum meleguetta* of West Africa, used as a spice and in medicine (O.E.D.).

⁽⁹³⁾ This was about the time when Paslew was rebuilding the lady chapel.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ In 1521, there was an excess of income over expenditure of £68 11s. 3½d.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to Professor C. N. L. Brooke for reading through this manuscript and offering valuable criticisms and suggestions, to Professor David Knowles and to Mr. R. C. Latham of the Public Record Office for help in translating some of the more difficult words, and to the county archivist of Lancashire and his staff for their assistance.